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LONDON, May 14, 1784.

At a Meeting of the Weſt-India Planters and Merchants,

Reſolved, That the following *Conſiderations on the Preſent State of the Intercourſe between his Majeſty's* SUGAR COLONIES *and the Dominions of the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA, be printed, and ſent, in the name of this Meeting, to every Member of both Houſes of Parliament, and to the Principal Trading Towns in Great Britain and Ireland.

JAMES ALLEN, Sec.

W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

Preſent State of the Intercourſe between his Majeſty's SUGAR COLONIES and the Dominions of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

A Third Edition of a Pamphlet, intitled, "Obſervations on the Commerce of the "American States, by John Lord Sheffield," having been lately introduced to the Public, with large additions, and an aſſurance, "That the "Facts were not lightly taken up, but minutely "and carefully enquired into, and ſtrictly exa-"mined;" the Weſt India Planters and Merchants think it incumbent on them no longer to hazard the public judgment being miſled on points ſo eſſential to the general welfare, by his

Lordſhip's uncontradicted authority. Their wiſh was, to have contradicted, in *the whole* of his Lordſhip's own words, ſo much of his aſſertions as relate to themſelves and the Britiſh Sugar Colonies, with the matters of fact; but they find ſuch a perpetual repetition of the ſame aſſertions in various forms, and the whole maſs of aſſertions, opinions, and extraneous matter ſo complicated and confuſed, that they could not effect that purpoſe, without inſerting herein the greateſt part of the three pamphlets: they will therefore endeavour fairly, and as nearly as poſſible in his own words, to ſtate the ſubſtance, and lay the queſtion, reſpecting the Intercourſe between the Sugar Colonies and the United States of America, before the Public, upon the true grounds on which its iſſue depends; leaving the inveſtigation of the reſt of his Lordſhip's doctrines to whom it may concern.

It may be proper to premiſe, that the firſt edition of the pamphlet in queſtion was publiſhed in Spring 1783, immediately after the joint-adminiſtration of Lord North and Mr. Fox was formed, and in oppoſition to a Bill which the then late Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, had left depending in Parliament, for a temporary regulation of the Trade and Intercourſe between the Dominions of Great Britain and thoſe of the United States. It was by that Bill propoſed to be enacted, amongſt other things,

things, that American ſhips might carry their own produce to our Iſlands, Colonies, or Plantations in America, and take back the produce thereof in return. The Bill was rejected in Parliament, and in lieu of it, an Act was paſſed, empowering the Crown for a limited time, which has been by two ſubſequent acts prolonged, and will expire the 20th June 1784, to regulate the ſaid trade and intercourſe by proclamation. Accordingly, proclamations have been from time to time iſſued, which ſubſtantially carry into execution moſt of the other objects of Mr. Pitt's Bill, but confine the intercourſe between the Sugar Colonies and the American States to Britiſh-built ſhips, whilſt they leave the trade between Great Britain and America free to the ſhips of America. It is chiefly in ſupport of this reſtriction upon the Sugar Colonies, that Lord Sheffield's labours have been employed, and to prove the truth of an aſſertion which pervades the whole work, *That the Weſt Indies may be ſufficiently ſupplied with the Articles of North American produce from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Iſland of St. John.*

To this end, his Lordſhip aſſerts as follows:

The coaſt round St. John's abounds with fiſh. The ſoil of the iſland is excellent, and capable of great improvement. No country in the world affords better paſture for cattle, and proviſions of all kinds

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kinds may be raiſed in great abundance. [Edition 2d, page 42.]

Peaſe, which may be made a ſubſtitute for rice or Indian corn, are cheaper in Canada than in any part of the American States, where they are only raiſed in the province of New-York and the Jerſeys: though perhaps there may not be a ſufficient quantity raiſed in Canada at preſent to ſupply any great demand, there may ſoon. [Edition 1ſt, page 44.]

Before the war, the wheat from Canada began to be preferred at Barcelona. It keeps better in a hot climate, being uſually ſent in grain, and yields from ſixty to ſixty-five pounds per *buſhel; yet the flour of it, not being very white, ſells proportionably cheaper. Being in grain, the Spaniſh purchaſer had the advantage of manufacturing it; and there being a demand in Canada for a low-priced, but ſtrong red wine of Spain, for which there was none in the American States, the Canadian merchants had great advantages, and they may be ſtill increaſed*. There was no winter-wheat in Canada previous to* 1763. *In* 1774, *vaſt quantities of both that and ſummer-wheat were exported, not leſs than five hundred thouſand buſhels, with which above one hundred veſ-*

* They could not lawfully import wine into Canada from Spain.

ſels

ſels were loaded for Europe, beſides what was ſent in flour and biſcuit to the Weſt-Indies and fiſheries; and one hundred thouſand buſhels were left in hand for want of ſhips to export them. In five or ſix years, three or four hundred ſail might be employed from Canada in different branches. Our Weſt-India iſlands will then be under no neceſſity of drawing ſupplies from the American States; and the importation of their wheat and flour ſhould be prohibited. The merchants of Philadelphia, the capital of the corn country, ſent ſhips to Quebec to load with wheat from thence to Europe. Canada can ſupply the Newfoundland fiſheries with flour and bread. [Edition 2d, page 45.]

Forty thouſand quarters of Canada wheat uſed to be imported to Philadelphia and New-York annually before the revolt. [Edition 3d, page 65.]

No wheat is ſent from America to the Weſt-Indies, except a very ſmall quantity for poultry, or ſuch uſes. In the year 1769, *one hundred and ſixty buſhels of wheat were exported from North America to the Weſt-Indies; but twelve thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty* tons *of flour and bread were exported from thence in the year* 1770, into our iſlands. *As wheat has been for ſeveral years paſt, and previous to the war, cheaper in Canada than in the American States, and as the New-York and Philadelphia mills were ten years ago*

ſupplied

ſupplied with forty thouſand quarters from Canada, there can be no doubt that theſe articles will come cheaper from that province, when a ſufficient number of corn-mills are erected, than from the American States. Canada will then be able to ſend her flour immediately to the place of conſumption, without paſſing through the medium of New-York and Philadelphia, leaving a great profit at thoſe places. [Edition 3d, page 118.]

There is only one capital mill in Canada. [Edition 2d, page 84.]

Canada will ſoon amply ſupply the principal articles wanted in the iſlands, except Indian corn and rice; and if there ſhould be a difficulty in getting theſe articles, the cheapneſs of wheat in Canada will ſoon afford a good ſubſtitute for them. [Edition 2d, page 89.]

Nova Scotia, or St. John's Iſland, cannot, for ſome time, ſpare much grain, as they are new ſettlements. They plant ſummer-wheat, as in Canada; but from the ſhortneſs of the ſummer, and becauſe the planters are not in good order ſufficient to take all advantages of the ſeaſon, and are not acquainted as yet with all the adequate methods that may be known in a more advanced ſtate of ſettlement, the ſummer-wheat is apt to blaſt; the ſettlers therefore act injudiciouſly in giving themſelves up ſo much to the culture of wheat. Theſe

countries grow fine barley, good rye, and tolerable oats; and as these grains are not subject to the accidents peculiar to new-settled northern countries, they should therefore principally cultivate them and peaſe, at leaſt for the preſent. Lower Canada grows ſummer-wheat. Higher Canada, which is the great granary, grows both ſummer and winter wheat.* [Edition 3d, page 120.]

Nova Scotia may raiſe oxen ſufficient for the iſlands, having fine paſture. [Edition 2d, page 76.]

Horſes for the ſaddle came from New England on the beſt terms, and may be ſupplied through Nova Scotia and Canada†. Horſes for draught, and for the ſugar-works, are eſſentially neceſſary in the Windward Iſlands, and can be had from Canada on better terms than from any other country‡: they are ſmall, but very ſtrong and hardy. [Edition 2d, page 70.]

It is ſaid, however, that horſes from the Southern Colonies, being uſed to a warm climate, are preferred. [Edition 3d, page 118.]

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* Neither of which are conſumed in the Weſt-Indies.

† So that thoſe Colonies may be allowed a direct intercourſe with the United States, though the Sugar Colonies muſt not.

‡ Witneſs the number ſupplied by Canada, when the trade to all America was free.

A conſiderable quantity of candles and ſoap uſed to go from England to America. Our iſlands were never well ſupplied with ſoap from England; they got a conſiderable quantity from the Dutch. There is a drawback on exportation, of 1d. per lb. *on candles, and* 1½d. per lb. *on ſoap. If the trade with the Weſt-Indies ſhould be laid open, Britain and Ireland may loſe the ſoap and candle trade*.* [Edition 3d, page 124.]

The maſts and ſpars formerly ſent to Europe from America, were procured from the northern parts of New England; but they have been gradually cut, near to water-carriage, and are daily becoming more ſcarce and more difficult to be got in the American States, whilſt the foreſts of Nova Scotia and Canada, abounding in timber of that kind, remain untouched. [Edition 2d, page 49.]

The beſt timber for pipe-ſtaves and lumber in general, is to be found in Canada and Nova Scotia; and the foreſts in thoſe countries have been hitherto almoſt untouched. They will be found, for a long time to come, inexhauſtible, whilſt timber has already become ſcarce in moſt of the American States, and in the Middle and Southward Pro-

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* This reaſoning ſeems to ſtand thus:—Britain and Ireland ſupplied both America and the Weſt-Indies;—open the trade between America and the Weſt-Indies, and Britain and Ireland will loſe the ſupply of both.

vinces

vinces is not of ſo good a quality. [Edition 2d, page 51.]

The lumber of the Southern Colonies is preferred, and is ſold 20 per cent. *dearer; it is moſtly for building.* [Edition 3d, page 68.]

Ships are now built in Canada little inferior to thoſe built in Britain. [Edition 2d, page 64.]

From the great plenty of timber in Nova Scotia and Canada, and the beginning ſcarcity of it near water-carriage in the American States, theſe articles may be imported from the former on better terms than from the latter. [Edition 2d, page 75.]

The Sugar Colonies did not get ſo much lumber by prizes, and through neutral iſlands, as may now be got immediately from Canada and Nova Scotia. The lumber of thoſe Colonies is as good as any in America, and may ſoon be ſent cheaper than it could from the revolted Provinces in their preſent, or any probable ſtate. Some little time may be neceſſary before a full ſupply of all the articles they can produce will be obtained; but it will be better for this country to allow a bounty on lumber, conveyed in Britiſh veſſels from Canada and Nova Scotia to the Weſt Indies, for a limited*

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* That is to ſay, when the commodity we ſtand in need of *does not exiſt*, let us allow a bounty for carrying it to market.

time, than to ſacrifice our carrying trade; alſo a bounty on building ſhips in Canada and Nova Scotia, to be employed in the carrying trade to the Weſt Indies. [Edition 2d, page 84. Edition 3d, page 144.]

In the article of wheat, it has appeared how amply Canada can ſupply our iſlands. It appears alſo, that no part of the world furniſhes greater advantages for ſhip-building.—In ſhort, it is unqueſtionably a fact, that Nova Scotia, Canada, and the iſland of St. John, will ſoon become capable, with very little encouragement, of ſupplying our iſlands with all the ſhipping, fiſh, timber, and lumber of every kind, and with mill or draft horſes, with flour and ſeveral other articles they may want. [Edition 2d, page 85.]

The difference of price between French, Daniſh, Dutch, and Britiſh Weſt India ſugar, was ſo great, that above two-thirds of the ſugar imported into America came from the foreign iſlands, and cheaper, notwithſtanding the duty on the foreign of five ſhillings per *hundred. The greateſt part was regularly entered; that which was ſmuggled into America, is computed to have incurred an expence equal to half the duty, beſides the expence of getting it in a clandeſtine manner from the foreign iſlands and Surinam. It is clear from this, that our ſugars will not be*

taken

taken for conſumption in the American States, and that they only mean to be carriers elſewhere, if permitted to go to our iſlands *. *Neither Holland nor France will ſuffer the American States to carry ſugar from their ports in the Weſt Indies, notwithſtanding the connection now between them.* [Edition 2d, page 65.]

The licenſe given lately by the court of France to erect ſugar-houſes to refine three millions of pounds of ſugar in Martinico, for the American market, cannot, and will not be conſidered as a favour by the States, who cannot wiſh to avail themſelves of it, having many refineries of their own. No indulgence is allowed by France as to raw ſugars. South Carolina has made, in the article of refined ſugar, a diſcrimination in favour of France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, of one hundred per cent. *duty. The refined ſugar of the Britiſh Plantations being ſubjected to double duty, and the raw ſugars to twenty-five* per cent. *more than the foreign. Surely this conduct does not entitle the States to any indulgence in trading to our iſlands. The diſcrimination however is as odious as it is unneceſſary.* [Edition 3d, page 108.]

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* That is to ſay, a merchant wanting to carry a commodity to a foreign market, will go to purchaſe it where it is deareſt.

Molaſſes

*Molaſſes are of very great importance to the American States, on account of their numerous diſtilleries, and the extenſive commerce carried on by means of the rum made out of them. They were chiefly imported from the French iſlands and Surinam. Before the Americans were allowed to go to the French iſlands for molaſſes (they are not allowed to carry away any thing elſe), it was an object with the French ſugar planter to * contrive to get rid of his molaſſes, by conveying it into the ſea, or to ſome waſte, while the Britiſh planter converted his into rum. They are ſtill conſiderably cheaper in the foreign than in the Britiſh iſlands. The Americans, who ſold their cargoes in our iſlands, uſed to take the money and go with it to foreign iſlands, where they laid it out in molaſſes, &c. This has been a ſerious complaint a long time.* [Edition 3d, page 108.]

The amount of rum imported and conſumed in the United States, was more than equal to all the other articles of their importation, molaſſes excepted. The rum diſtilled from molaſſes in the United States, was moſtly exported to Africa and the Northern Colonies. The rum imported was conſumed in the country, and, except a ſmall quantity from Demerary and Santa Cruz, the whole was, and may ſtill be, imported from the

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* There is ſcarce an animal that will not eat it, and thrive upon it.

Britiſh Weſt India iſlands. We muſt take care, however, not to encourage Engliſh and American diſtillers to ſet up their buſineſs in the French and Dutch colonies, by ſuffering any burthens on rum going to the American States, which poſſibly can be avoided. The French make very little rum, and that of a bad quality. They do not encourage the making of rum; it might interfere with their brandies. [Edition 2d, page 67.]

The Dutch and French iſlands and ſettlements on the main cannot ſupply the demand of the American States, even if they ſhould erect diſtilleries, and manufacture their own molaſſes. Nothing can be more trifling, and leſs founded, than the clamour on the ſuppoſition of loſing the rum trade, which our iſlands had. The competition with our iſlands will be exactly the ſame, whether the molaſſes are diſtilled in the foreign iſlands, or on the continent of America. It is the intereſt of the American States, and not our buſineſs, to diſcourage the diſtillation of molaſſes in the foreign iſlands. It would be ruinous to New England in particular; and when the encouragements lately held out in the French iſlands to eſtabliſh diſtilleries, are uſed as an argument for the purpoſe of frightening us into conceſſions, they can only be attended to by the moſt ignorant. [Edition 3d, page 112.]

It is abſurd to ſuppoſe the Americans would confine themſelves to the uſe of our Weſt India rum, even if

*if we were weak enough to give them every advantage held forth in the Bill which gave riſe to theſe Obſervations. The Americans would certainly go to the cheapeſt markets, but they will require the ſame quantity they did before, conſequently there will be the ſame demand; and they muſt have it from our iſlands, as they cannot have a ſufficient quantity elſewhere. It is well known how much the Jamaica and Grenada rum is preferred by them. As our Weſt India iſlands will be entitled to the monopoly of the rum trade with our remaining colonies,—they will be benefited in this trade, at leaſt by the diſmemberment of the American States. If any new competition could be raiſed in this trade, the monopoly in queſtion would doubly compenſate *. The quantity of rum conſumed in our fiſheries, and remaining colonies, is very great indeed; and through Canada, the inland parts of America, will be partly ſupplied. If our rum ſhould be prohibited there, the Americans will be gratified by the opportunity of ſmuggling.* [Edition 3d, page 114.]

By any violation or relaxation of the navigation act, that act will be entirely loſt as to Ireland. That kingdom expreſsly adopted it only as long as it ſhould remain unaltered in Great Britain. It is

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* What proportion the conſumption of the *new inhabitants* of our remaining colonies (for we ſupplied the old ones before) can bear to the doctrine here laid down, will appear from their numbers herein after ſtated.

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a principal tye between the two countries. But beſides the loſs of the Act, as far as it confines Ireland, we ſhould involve ourſelves moſt ſeriouſly with that kingdom in another reſpect. Ireland received, as a right, every advantage ſhe had lately acquired, except the participation of the monopoly of the Weſt India conſumption of Britiſh products, and manufactures: For that ſhe was thankful; and, in return, paſſed the Act which encreaſed the duty on ſugars, and other Weſt India articles; and engages to augment them farther, in proportion to the duties which may in future be impoſed upon them in Great Britain; and lays prohibitory duties on ſimilar articles from foreign iſlands. By this Bill that monopoly would ceaſe. Ireland will think Britain has done away the conſideration which induced her to ſhut her ports againſt foreign ſugar. The Iriſh Act, laying prohibitory duties, is biennial, and will expire next Chriſtmas; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, under the circumſtance alluded to, it would be continued. Her redreſs might be, to take foreign Weſt India goods; at leaſt, ſhe would not think it neceſſary to charge her own conſumption of ſugars with higher duties than are required from America. She will expect to have Weſt India goods on as good terms as the American States, now become foreign. Weſt India planters ſhould conſider, whether a direct trade to the American States will recompenſe them for the loſs of the

Iriſh conſumption; and parliament ſhould conſider what would be the ſtate of ſmuggling from Ireland into this country, if Ireland ſhould become the repoſitory for foreign Weſt India goods, or of our own, under low duties. [Edition 2d, page 82.]

Ruſſia is, by treaty, to be conſidered as the moſt favoured nation. She will not eaſily be amuſed by any ridiculous attempts that may be made to treat the American States other than foreign. [Edition 2d, page 3.]

It has been ſaid, The iſlands cannot exiſt without an open trade to the American States.—In anſwer, it may aſked, how they have exiſted during the war, when even Canada, or Nova Scotia, and alſo England and Ireland, were not open to them, without great expence and riſque? [Edition 3d, page 144.]

It has already been ſtated, that the Bermudians, in great part, ſupplied our Iſlands with freſh proviſions. Our remaining Colonies, or at leaſt part of them, will ſoon equip ſmall veſſels, and carry on the ſame trade. If our iſlands are ſo helpleſs, and would rather ſacrifice our marine, than make ſo ſmall an effort *as to fit out veſſels in addition to thoſe of Bermuda, and our remaining colonies,* ſufficient to ſupply themſelves with

proviſions and lumber, *they deſerve to ſuffer, or to pay an extraordinary price. Even if they ſhould be ſo helpleſs, no man can ſay they will be ſubject to any other inconvenience than that of paying an advanced price for thoſe articles, through the medium of foreign Weſt India Free Ports; and, at any rate, the inconvenience can be nothing, when put in competition with the object of our navigation, and the unforeſeen miſchiefs that may ariſe.* [Edition 3d, page 147.]

The means of reducing the price of Weſt India commodities to the level of thoſe of the foreign plantations, is extremely worthy the attention of the planters, and the legiſlature. It is an object of high national import, and might greatly promote the wealth and navigation of this country. And, conſidering the bulk of Weſt India commodities, viz. *ſugar, molaſſes, and rum, particularly the former, the univerſality and extent of its conſumption; a conſumption in its infancy even in Europe, and ſtill more ſo in America, it is not improbable, that in a few ages, the nation which may be in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive and beſt cultivated ſugar iſlands, ſubject to proper policy, will take the lead at ſea.* [Edition 3d, page 162.]

France is increaſing her ſugar plantations; and nothing but bad management, or extravagance, can

prevent our iſlands from ſelling as cheap as the French, although they now underſell us ſo greatly. [Edition 2d, page 89.]

There is nothing to be complained of more, than the prodigious ſums that have been ſpent in forming ſugar plantations, when they might have been ſo much better employed at home. [Edition 3d, page 260.]

But above all, the utmoſt endeavours ſhould be exerted to reduce the price of our Weſt India produce, ſo as to enable this country to ſupport a competition at the American, as well as European markets. [Edition 3d, page 158.]

The difference of price between Britiſh and foreign ſugars exiſted when our iſlands were open to all the ſhipping of America. It is ſaid, the French are able to underſell us, becauſe they raiſe a great part of their proviſions in their iſlands, and alſo a conſiderable quantity of lumber; and that France can ſupply them with all articles cheaper than we can. The firſt is true; but the preceding examination, as to the probable future ſupply of America, ſeems to prove, that the latter aſſertion is by no means founded; and as to the ſupply of negroes, we have ſuch a decided ſuperiority in the African trade, that it is allowed we have ſlaves one-ſixth cheaper. It is alſo ſaid, and very truly, that the ſoil of our iſlands is more ungrateful than that of the French, and that our mode of cultivation is much

much more expenſive *; *and the French ſay, we do not exact ſo much labour from our ſlaves as they do* †; *that we feed them at a greater expence; and particularly, that we are leſs induſtrious. But the argument which is moſt ſtrongly urged is, that the expenſive manner in which our planters live cannot be accommodated to ſmall profit: That the French planters, in their manner of life, reſemble our yeomanry and farmers; and that our planters, except their having been lately rivalled by the magnificence of the Eaſt, are amongſt the moſt ſplendid members of the empire* ‡. *The anſwer to this difficulty does not immediately occur; but as long as ſo many of them generouſly ſpend their incomes among us, without expecting or requiring*

* There are many other ſubſtantial reaſons for the difference; but this is a point no way neceſſary to be here diſcuſſed.

† The planters with pleaſure receive this teſtimony to their humanity from a generous enemy, and hardly think their fellow-ſubjects in Great Britain or Ireland would ſeek a reduction of the prices of ſugars, at the expence of its violation.

‡ Perhaps this obſervation deſerves no anſwer but ſilent contempt. It might not be impoſſible, even in the rank to which his Lordſhip has been elevated, to find example of oſtentatious expence, equally unwarranted by the poſſeſſion of an adequate fortune: But the rights and intereſts of large bodies of men, are quite a diſtinct conſideration from the wiſdom or folly of their individual members; and the price at which ſugar can be cultivated and manufactured in the Weſt-Indies, depends upon the rate at which plantations can be ſupplied with the eſſential requiſites of their culture and manufacture, and not upon the way of life of the proprietors reſiding in England.

quiring the moſt eſſential intereſts of the country ſhould be relinquiſhed for their advantage, Engliſhmen will not be jealous of the affluence of this very conſiderable part of the community, or repine at paying a higher price than their neighbours for Weſt India commodities: But if expectations or requiſitions of the ſame kind ſhould be continued, we ſhall only obſerve, that bodies of men are too apt to imagine the empire ought to be accommodated or fitted to their intereſt, without recollecting that their intereſt ſhould rather be accommodated or fitted to that of the empire. [Edition 3d, page 160.]

Having performed the laborious taſk of extracting theſe diſcordant grounds of that opinion which is contended for, from their native confuſion, the Planters and Merchants proceed to ſtate their reply.

In order to judge of the truth of the general propoſition, "That the Weſt Indies may be ſufficiently ſupplied with the articles of North American produce from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's," it is neceſſary to underſtand,

Firſt, What the annual conſumption of American Produce in the Britiſh Sugar Colonies really

really amounts to; which his Lordſhip's tables, blending the exports to the foreign, with thoſe to the Britiſh iſlands, do not ſhew.

Secondly, How much thereof uſed to be ſupplied by thoſe Provinces which now form the United States, and how much by thoſe which remain Britiſh.

And thirdly, To review the preſent ſtate of the remaining Britiſh North American Colonies, and ſee how far their preſent or probable Produce may be expected to exceed what they heretofore produced, or prove at all adequate to the demand.

There is extant an official return from the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, dated the 15th March 1775, which affords a complete anſwer to the firſt and ſecond heads of this enquiry, and an authentic view of the conſumption of the Britiſh Sugar Colonies in time of peace. It contains an account of the importation into thoſe Colonies from North America in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, the totals of which, for all the three years added together, ſtand as follows:

An Account of the total Import from North America into the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands, in the Years 1771, 1772, and 1773; taken from an official Account ſigned by Mr. Stanley, Secretary to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms in London, dated 15th March 1775.

Lumber.	From the Colonies now forming the United States.		From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Boards and Timber	Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles	No.	59,586,194	185,000	—
Staves	No.	57,998,661	27,350	—
Hoops	No.	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn	Buſhels	1,204,389	24	—
Peaſe and Beans	Ditto	64,006	1,017	—
Bread and Flour	Barrels	396,329	991	—
Ditto	Kegs	13,099	—	—
Rice	Barrels	39,912	—	—
Ditto	Tierces	21,777	—	—
Fiſh	Hogſheads	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto	Barrels	47,686	646	202
Ditto	Quintals	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto	Kegs	3,304	609	—
Beef and Pork	Barrels	44,782	170	24
Poultry	Dozens	2,739	10	—
Horſes	No.	7,130	28	—
Oxen	No.	3,647	—	—
Sheep and Hogs	No.	13,815	—	—
Oil	Barrels	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine	Ditto	17,024	—	—
Maſts	No.	157	—	—
Spars	No.	3,074	30	—
Shook Caſks	No.	53,857	40	141
Soap and Candles	Boxes	20,475	—	—
Ox Bows and Yokes	No.	1,540	—	—
Houſe Frames	No.	620	—	—
Iron	Tons	399¼	—	—

From

From hence it appears, that the ſupply from the Provinces now forming the United States, was immenſe; whilſt the ſupply from thoſe which remain Britiſh was, before the late war, quite trifling, except in the ſingle article of fiſh from Newfoundland, with which the independence of the American States has no connection, and of which there is nothing now to hinder the importation as formerly. This comparative view is corroborated by another account extracted from the Cuſtom-houſe Returns for the year 1772, by which it appears, that of one thouſand two hundred and eight cargoes of lumber and proviſions imported that year from North America into the Britiſh Sugar Colonies, only ſeven cargoes came from Canada and Nova Scotia; and it is further confirmed by Lord Sheffield's table, No.7; by which it appears, that of ſeven hundred and one topſail veſſels, and one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-one ſloops, cleared outwards from North America to the Britiſh and foreign Weſt Indies in the year 1770, only two topſail veſſels and eleven ſloops were cleared from Canada and Nova Scotia. It ſtands therefore incontrovertible, that, previous to the late war, the ſupplies to the Weſt Indies, afforded by thoſe North American Colonies which now remain Britiſh, did not amount to a proportion of the whole conſumption of the Sugar Colonies in any degree worthy of national attention. It remains to examine, how far their preſent

ſtate differs from what it was then, or affords a rational ground for believing thoſe Colonies at all adequate to the ſupply of the Weſt Indies.

And firſt, as to Canada:

The navigation of the river St. Lawrence opens in May, and cloſes in November; during which ſhort ſeaſon of intercourſe, the prevalent weſterly winds and frequent calms greatly impede the paſſage up the river, and render more than one voyage in the year to and from the Weſt Indies impracticable. The trade affords no outward-bound freight from Britain to Canada, beyond what the ſhips returning from Canada to Britain can carry out; and conſequently all ſhips ſent thither from Britain, to carry lumber or proviſions to the Weſt Indies, muſt go in ballaſt at a ruinous expence.

The climate renders the crops of wheat very precarious. When in the ear, a kind of mildew moſt commonly affects it, and deſtroys the faireſt expectations of plenty. The quality is far inferior to the wheat of either Great Britain or the Middle Colonies of America, and upon competition ſells accordingly. Its produce in flour is nearly twenty-eight pounds of fine flour *per* buſhel of wheat. No quantities of winter wheat have ever been ſown

in Canada, though ſome experiments of that kind have been tried without any remarkable ſucceſs. The hiſtory of the exportation of wheat and flour from Canada is as follows. Before the year 1772 there was none.

		Buſhels of Wheat.
In 1772,	There were exported .	
	To Great Britain, -	5,940
	To the Britiſh Colonies	22,811
	To the ſouthern Parts of Europe,	126,056
	Total	154,807
In 1773,	To Great Britain, -	3,300
	To the Britiſh Colonies,	30,711
	To the ſouthern Parts of Europe,	320,545
	Total	354,556
In 1774,	To Great Britain, -	49,871
	To the Britiſh Colonies, -	1,004
	To the ſouthern Parts of Europe, about -	412,619
	Total	463,494

In 1775, 1776, and 1777, the export was quite inconſiderable; and ſince that time, no wheat has been exported; nor, before that time, any flour.

In 1778, about three thouſand barrels of flour were ſhipped for Halifax and New York, where the war had occaſioned it to be very dear, and no more was exported.——In 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the ſcarcity in Canada was ſuch, that all exportation of bread, flour, or wheat, was prohibited. In the beginning of Summer 1783, about one thouſand five hundred barrels of flour were exported to Halifax and Newfoundland, and none to any other place: but the crop again proved bad. Flour at Quebec was, by the laſt advices, at thirty ſhillings *per* hundred weight; and there was, at the time of Lord Sheffield's laſt publication, a ſhip loading with flour in the river Thames for Quebec, which ſailed the beginning of April laſt.

No trace appears, but in his Lordſhip's aſſertion, of the forty thouſand quarters, or three hundred and twenty thouſand buſhels of Canada wheat, that uſed to be imported to Philadelphia and New York annually, before the revolt.

There are many good mills in Canada, and ſome very capital ones, and no want of the means of grinding any quantity of wheat they have to grind.

During the whole war, the army in Canada was obliged to be ſupplied with complete rations of

proviſions from Europe, except a part of one ſingle year's ſupply of flour, for which the produce of the country was relied upon; and that ſmall extra demand raiſed the price from eighteen ſhillings to thirty ſhillings *per* hundred weight, and occaſioned great ſcarcity.

Thus it clearly appears, that for the nine laſt ſucceſſive years, Canada has had no wheat or flour worthy of notice to export. Its greateſt export, viz. that of the year 1774, amounted to a mere trifle, compared to the demands of the Sugar Colonies. And although it be true, that, in favourable ſeaſons, an overplus of grain, beyond the conſumption of the inhabitants, may now and then happen, yet ſuch overplus can never be relied upon; and the frequency of diſappointment muſt prove an inſurmountable bar to new inhabitants ſettling with a view to the cultivation of wheat.

No peaſe have ever been cultivated in Canada, ſo as to form an article of exportation.

With reſpect to lumber; the quality of every ſpecies of the pine in Canada is vaſtly inferior to the pine timber of the Middle and Southern Colonies, and does not ſell in the Weſt Indies for much more than half the price. The Navy-board was lately led to believe, that maſts might be had from Canada; and ſent out a ſurveyor to examine them;

them; but he found none fit for the ſervice. The white oak ſtaves of Canada are of good quality, but they are manufactured to a ſize fit for the London market, which takes off the whole. The price of labour, which runs from half a dollar to a dollar *per* day, renders the cutting red oak ſtaves, or other low-priced lumber, impracticable at any price which the Sugar Colonies can afford to pay for it, in a country ſo difficult of acceſs as Canada.

There has not been a ſingle ſhip built in the province ſince ſome years before the late war; nor, according to the lateſt advices, is there a ſingle one building. All they have attempted is, boats and ſmall veſſels, fit for the navigation of their own river.

And finally, The ſtate of population precludes all hope of a ſpeedy increaſe of ſupplies. Not more than two or three Britiſh families have purchaſed lands for cultivation, ſince the province was firſt ceded to us by France: The few Loyaliſts who have lately gone thither are chiefly trading people: And the French Canadians, in number about one hundred thouſand ſouls, have not yet exhibited any ſuch ſigns of ſpirit or vigorous induſtry, beyond what is neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of life, as to warrant an expectation of their ſurmounting all the diſadvantages of climate, and furniſhing

furniſhing a ſupply at all extenſive to other countries. In ſhort, any conſiderable additional produce muſt undoubtedly depend upon additional hands, not now exiſting in the province.

Secondly, as to Nova Scotia:

It has never yet produced grain ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of its inhabitants, which, at the commencement of the late war, did not exceed twenty-ſeven thouſand ſouls; but are recently increaſed to about ſixty thouſand ſouls, by the emigration of Loyaliſts from the United States.

It has never yet exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandize; and ſo far from having any to export, it appears, by the lateſt advices, that a conſiderable *importation* was taking place from the American dominions on the oppoſite ſide of the Bay of Fundy.

It has never yet built any ſhips beyond the ſmall craft employed in the fiſhery, and other ſervices upon its own coaſt; and, conſidering that there are at preſent few or no ſhip-builders among the inhabitants, if ſhip-building in Nova Scotia were to be puſhed, it muſt be principally by artiſans emigrating thither from Great Britain and Ireland.

It has never yet afforded any ſupply of black cattle to any other country whatever.

The quality of its timber is variouſly ſpoken of and very little known; but there is reaſon to believe, that all the pine ſpecies, eſpecially thoſe growing on the Peninſula, are inferior to thoſe of the Middle and Southern Provinces of America. And although this Colony may, with great encouragement, in time become inhabited and productive, yet at preſent it affords nothing for exportation but what may, by indirect means, be brought into it from the ſettlements made in Frenchman's Bay, and other parts of the Province of Maine in the American dominions, from whence the run acroſs the mouth of the Bay of Fundy to Port Roſeway, now called Port Shelburn, is only about ſixty or ſeventy leagues.

Thirdly, as to the Iſland of St. John:

It has never yet produced food for its own inhabitants, in number about 2000 ſouls.

It has never exported any thing that can be conſidered as merchandize, the produce of the iſland.

Its fiſhery is no better than that of Newfoundland or Nova Scotia, whilſt its ſituation within the Gulph

Gulph of St. Lawrence ſhuts it up from all intercourſe for more than five months in the year; and its fog, more impenetrable than even the fog of Nova Scotia, renders the country too uncomfortable to hope for population, while land remains unoccupied in happier climates.

Upon this review of the actual ſtate of the Britiſh North American Colonies, it is difficult to treat a deliberate and perſevering attempt to impreſs the Public with an opinion, that the wants of the Sugar Colonies may be ſupplied from thence, with that reſpect which the Weſt India Planters and Merchants wiſh to preſerve upon the preſent occaſion. To ſuppoſe thoſe Colonies *at all* productive for the purpoſes of a ſubſtantial exportation, is to anticipate the ſlow effect of many years of that ſteady and expenſive ſyſtem of encouragement from the Mother-country, which raiſed the other North American Colonies to independence; and to ſuppoſe that at any time their produce can be rendered adequate to the Weſt Indian demand, appears vaſtly beyond what the climate and other natural diſadvantages can ever admit, under any encouragement whatſoever.

The truth is, that the Sugar Colonies can alone be ſupplied with lumber from the Dominions of the United States, and that they cannot either well or cheaply be ſupplied with many eſſential articles of

 proviſions

proviſions from any other country. Flour in particular will not keep in the Weſt Indies, and requires a conſtant ſupply by as ſhort a voyage as poſſible: Even in the voyage from England it frequently grows ſour; and live-ſtock of all kinds obviouſly require a ſhort voyage at a favourable ſeaſon of the year. Without theſe ſupplies, *the cultivation of the Sugar Colonies cannot be carried on*; and whether the circumſtances of the caſe do or do not admit the intercourſe, thereby created, to be confined to Britiſh ſhips, is the true queſtion for the public conſideration: The ſubject is highly important, and involves in it very extenſive conſiderations, which require to be diſtinctly treated of.

Among the foremoſt ſtands the conſideration how theſe ſupplies are to be paid for. This can only be done by bills of exchange upon Great Britain, which is to all intents and purpoſes ſending ſo much money out of the kingdom; or by inducing the Americans to take the ſuperfluous part of the produce of our Sugar Colonies in payment. This they conſtantly did, previous to the late war; and the following account of the total exportation from the Sugar Colonies in the years 1773 and 1774, diſtinguiſhing what went to America, from what came to Great Britain and Ireland, will beſt explain the natural courſe and extent of this trade, and ſhew how far it was any hardſhip to the Mother-country to part with the commodities which America took in payment.

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An ACCOUNT of the total Exportation from the BRITISH SUGAR COLONIES, in the Years 1773 and 1774.

N.B. The Packages are reduced to one common denomination of 1600*lb. per* Hhd. of Sugar, and 110 Gallons *per* Puncheon of Rum, and ſome Commodities of trifling Amount are left out.

	Sugar Hhds. of 1600 lb.	Rum Punch. of 110 gallons	Melaſſes.		Pimento Caſks and Bags of unknown Weight.	Coffee.		Cotton.		Ginger
			Hhd. gauge unknown.	Gallons.		Caſks and Bags of unknown weight.	Pounds.	Bags of unknown weight.	Pounds.	Pounds
To Britain and Ireland,	118915	25389	44	140	18263	235	3444731	1184	846810	462171
To America, - -	3776	32265	1277	2450	1521	53	364236	184	50080	90
Total in 1773,	122691	57654	1321	2590	19784	288	3808967	1368	896890	462261
To Britain and Ireland,	141460	26602		5379	14251	711	3145580	1385	929310	180425
To America, - -	5325	43488		134532	550	28	416693	171	4802	300
Total in 1774,	146785	70090		139911	14801	739	3562273	1556	934112	180725

From hence it plainly appears, that the Sugar Colonies paid for their lumber and proviſions chiefly in rum. During the interruption of this commerce occaſioned by the war, our fleets and armies in North America and the Weſt Indies have occaſioned a demand for rum perhaps not much ſhort of what America formerly took; but that demand is now at an end; and to expect that Great Britain and Ireland can take off an additional quantity of forty thouſand puncheons of rum *per annum*, would be as abſurd, as to ſuppoſe our Sugar Colonies could exiſt, if they were obliged, inſtead of making this uſe of their rum, to throw it away, and pay about four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum* for their lumber and proviſions out of the reſt of their produce. Nothing can therefore be more eſſential, than to take care that no regulations be eſtabliſhed which can tend to drive the Americans into other modes of obtaining a ſupply of rum; and in as far as they can be induced to take ſugar or other articles of our produce, wild indeed muſt that policy be on our part, which would prefer their conſuming in America the produce of French labour and induſtry, rather than Britiſh.

The Act of Navigation, or more properly the principle of that Act, branched out, varied, or modified, as it has been, by a great number of other Acts of Parliament down to the preſent times, muſt, like all other human inſtitutions, adapt itſelf

to

to every material alteration of circumſtances, or its proviſions will be no longer wiſe or ſalutary. It originated when the national ſpirit of commercial enterprize, operating upon natural advantages long neglected, began to produce thoſe effects which have raiſed this nation to greatneſs. Our anceſtors then ſaw, that the Britiſh empire and its dependencies contained within them every thing that was eſſential to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of their then infant Colonies, and, under thoſe circumſtances, wiſely confined the intercourſe of thoſe Colonies to the Mother-country, and to each other, and the importation of foreign commodities into the Mother-country, to be by Britiſh ſhips (in that deſcription, including the ſhips of Ireland and the Colonies) or by ſhips of the country from whence the commodities were imported. Our agriculture, manufactures, and the commerce thereon dependent, have ſince increaſed to an amazing degree, and (at a time when they are treated in ſo ſubordinate a way, as men whoſe property and exiſtence are to lay at the mercy of the moſt ill-informed prejudices of individuals), the Weſt India Planters and Merchants may be allowed to ſay, that if any body of men have more eminently contributed to ſuch increaſe than another, it is to *them*, and to the inveſtment of at leaſt fifty millions ſterling of their property in the Sugar Colonies, that ſuch diſtinction is due. Our agriculture, manufactures, and commerce have riſen

to

to greatneſs, and navigation and naval power have riſen in their train: But navigation and naval power are among the *happy fruits*, not the *parents* of commerce; for if agriculture and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furniſh the ſubject of intercourſe between diſtant countries, there muſt ſoon be an end of navigation. To ſacrifice the ſources of commerce, or cramp them, with a view to promote navigation, is therefore obviouſly deſtructive of the very end propoſed: The *carrying trade* is of great importance, but it is of greater ſtill *to have trade to carry*. Encourage cultivation and manufactures, and promote a demand for their produce, and render its conveyance to market eaſy, and the benefits of navigation will follow of courſe: But encourage the ſpeculative fancies of thoſe who think they can, by human inſtitutions, ſtrongly controul the natural courſe of things, and indulge them in cramping the operation of the *cauſe*, in order to increaſe the *effect*, and the manufactures, commerce, navigation, and naval power of Britain muſt ſink together. The policy of the Act of Navigation is juſtly popular. Its regulations, until the loſs of America, under the various relaxations which Parliament has applied to particular events and exigencies as they aroſe, have guided the courſe of trade without oppreſſing it; for the markets which thoſe regulations left open to the conſumption of the produce of the Colonies were ſufficient to take off the whole; and no foreign

country

country could have ſupplied the eſſential part of their wants materially cheaper, than the Colonies or the Mother-country could ſupply one another. The independence of America has totally changed all this, and yet we heſitate to follow the event with anſwerable regulations.

The intercourſe between North America and the Sugar Colonies has at all times been carried on, chiefly by ſmall veſſels built in America, and navigated at a very cheap rate, which brought proviſions and lumber to ſell, and carried back their own returns. The expence of navigation in long voyages is vaſtly higher, in proportion to the length thereof, than in ſhort ones; and the American veſſels, thus making freight both ways, with very ſhort voyages, brought their bulky commodities to our conſumption at perhaps the cheapeſt rate poſſible; but ſtill the expence of its tranſportation exceeded its original value. Whatever increaſes the expence at which the culture and manufacture of ſugar in the Weſt Indies is to be carried on, moſt evidently ſtrikes at the root of every benefit derived from them; yet, in order to reduce the price of thoſe commodities, and enable us, according to the noble Lord's idea, to contend for the conſumption *even of America* with foreign Colonies, whoſe ſoil and other advantages are ſuperior to our own, meaſures are inſiſted on, which muſt at once ſhut the American market againſt our produce, and oblige us to take

take theirs at an expence far beyond what the nature of the caſe requires, or our rivals pay. It has already been ſhewn what reliance is to be had upon the *ſhipping* of Canada and Nova Scotia. That of Bermudas amounts to a very trifling part indeed of the tonnage wanted, and whatever may bé the noble Lord's facility in condemning our Iſlands to ſuffer for it, if they are ſo helpleſs, and will not make ſo *ſmall an effort* as to fit out veſſels, in addition thereto, *ſufficient to ſupply themſelves with proviſions and lumber*, it would have been as well if his Lordſhip had adverted even to his own repreſentation of the extent of that ſupply, and had taken the trouble to inform himſelf of the practicability of building or fitting out almoſt any ſhips whatever from our iſlands, before ſuch doctrines were ſported to the Public. If the intercourſe by American ſhips remains prohibited, the bulk of the ſupply muſt be had either by indirect means from the Americans through the neighbouring foreign iſlands, or coming into ports where we have no Cuſtom-houſe Officers, or elſe by ſhips ſent in ballaſt from Great Britain to America, to fetch it under all the burthens which the policy of America, rendered adverſe by ſuch hoſtile inſtitutions, can impoſe. The direct trade between Britain and America has not, at any time, afforded outward bound freight at all equal to the homeward bound; and conſequently, ſhips not in the direct trade, but going there accidentally upon a circuitous voyage,

have ſeldom obtained any freight out, unleſs from ſome caſualty; and as the lumber trade could by no means bear the expence of navigation by ſhips ſo fitted out, and making the voyage from Britain to America in ballaſt, a very ſmall proportion of the ſupply was at any time imported by ſuch ſhips into the Weſt Indies. But it will be aſked, Why may not Britiſh ſhips, when in the Weſt Indies, make a voyage to America with rum, ſugar, &c. and bring back lumber, with the advantage of having freight both ways? Lord Sheffield gives a full anſwer. The prices have at all times been much lower in the foreign iſlands than in ours; and although, whilſt we permitted the Americans to bring us *their* produce, and take back *ours*, the homeward-bound freight operated as a bounty, and the habit of intercourſe led to the conſumption of Britiſh produce, even under ſome ſmall diſadvantage; we can never expect, that while we prohibit this intercourſe, and the French permit it, the Americans will conſume any part of our produce which they can otherwiſe be ſupplied with. Upon this principle, beſides what has been done in Carolina, as ſtated by Lord Sheffield, the Aſſembly of Maryland (one of the moſt moderate of the United States), immediately on receiving advice of our reſtrictive proclamation herein before mentioned, paſſed an Act, impoſing a duty on all Britiſh ſhips coming into their ports, and on all merchandize imported therein being Britiſh property, and em-

powering their Delegates in Congreſs to agree to a law, confining all importation into America to be by American ſhips. Upon the ſame occaſion, the Aſſembly of Virginia reſolved unanimouſly, to authoriſe their Delegates in Congreſs, to prohibit Britiſh veſſels from importing the produce of the Britiſh Weſt Indies into the United States, ſo long as thoſe reſtrictions ſhould be continued; and ordered a Bill to be brought into their own Aſſembly accordingly. Advice is received, that the province of Pennſylvannia has come to reſolutions ſimilar to thoſe of Maryland, and the concurrence of the Northern Provinces, whoſe intereſt is more deeply concerned in the meaſure than the Southern ones, can never be doubted. How well founded Lord Sheffield's aſſertions are, that France prohibits the intercourſe between her *Sugar Colonies* and the American dominions, let the following Proclamation bear witneſs. The French government could at all times give an effectual protection to American ſhips in their ports, notwithſtanding any public edicts of prohibition; becauſe *they* have no cuſtom-houſe officers empowered by law to ſeize ſhips for their own benefit, independent of the will of the governor, grounded upon ſecret orders; and the Americans were well accuſtomed to truſt to ſuch protection: but all diſguiſe is now thrown off, and the permiſſion avowed.

Tranſlation

Tranſlation of a Proclamation by the Viſcount De Damas, *Governor of* Martinique, *and Commandant-General of the* French *Windward Iſlands, dated* 23*d* July 1783.

WHEREAS the trade of our Colonies, and that of the Thirteen United States of North America, promiſes a reciprocal benefit and advantage to both nations, ſo are we willing to grant the laſt-mentioned every privilege in our ports or harbours. In order to animate them thereunto, it has appeared to us, as we find that the duty formerly ſtipulated on them was not calculated agreeable to the nature of the trade, lading, and ſize of their veſſels; alſo for the reaſon of the long detention of their veſſels in our ports, we find that they muſt have run into many unneceſſary expences, which have cauſed the loſs of their voyage and labour; to prevent thoſe obſtacles, we do hereby grant and permit to their merchants, to furniſh our Colonies with every kind of their commodities which our nation cannot ſupply us with, and likewiſe to ſuffer them to purchaſe and load any kind of produce of our ſaid iſlands, of which we alſo grant the ſame privilege to our own merchants; this being the will and pleaſure of his Majeſty, who has authorized and ordered us to have it publiſhed, and the following articles:

1ſt, All Americans that carry on trade in our Colonies, ſhall have no more to pay for every

veſſel than ſixteen livres ten ſols * anchorage, and twenty-four livres fifteen ſols † at the Admiralty-office, and the ſame ſum and no more to the interpreter; for which he ſhall be bound to take the Captain to the General or Governor, and to aſſiſt him in every thing according to the laws and cuſtoms of the country.

2d, And as we want to favour as much as poſſible the ſpeedy diſpatch of all American veſſels, we do hereby permit and allow to all thoſe eſtabliſhed merchants to build at the Bay of Gallery a rum diſtillery, and round about the city of St. Pierre proper ciſterns, to keep a ſufficient quantity of molaſſes, for which we hereby exempt them from all duty and tax-money, and every one of their negroes, for the ſpace of five years.

We have thought proper to publiſh, regiſter, and inſtitute this at the Admiralty-office, and every Cuſtom-houſe within our government; and alſo charged our Director General to uſe every diligence to ſee it executed, in order that no perſons hereafter may plead ignorance.

Signed, &c. DAMAS.

Counterſigned by the proper Officers.

But further; Lord Sheffield argues, that this permiſſion to export produce in American ſhips

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* About Fourteen Shillings. † About a Guinea.

from

from the French iſlands, will, as far as relates to the great article of rum, be of no conſequence; for the French cannot ſupply them, and conſequently they muſt ſtill take their rum from the Britiſh iſlands, where alone it is to be had. Such indeed would have been the caſe, had we been as early wiſe as the French, and had not by violence turned the channel of ſupply. The only obſtacle to the making rum in any quantity in the French iſlands, is the want of ſtills and the other utenſils of diſtillation, which are expenſive in the firſt conſtruction, but kept up and worked afterwards at very little expence. There is no ground whatever for ſuppoſing the quality of ſuch rum at all inferior to that with which we have chiefly ſupplied the American conſumption, and the longer we perſevere in the meaſures which have raiſed againſt us this dangerous rival, the more we ſhall open the eyes of the French to our folly, and their own intereſt in protecting the manufacture. The argument drawn from the poſition, that the molaſſes can be diſtilled but once, and therefore it is the ſame thing to us whether the Americans diſtil them in their own country as heretofore, or diſtil them in the French iſlands, leaves out one ſmall conſideration, viz. that the foreign iſlands produce molaſſes abundantly ſufficient for both purpoſes: And the argument grounded on its not being for the intereſt of the Americans to ſet up or encourage diſtilleries in the foreign iſlands, be-

cauſe they have diſtilleries at home, is anſwered by the noble Lord himſelf: for he ſtates, and the fact is, that (from whatever cauſe it may ariſe) molaſſes diſtilled any where elſe, and without the additions they receive in the Weſt Indies from the ſkimmings of the ſugar, do not in any country produce a liquor at all like Weſt India rum, but much inferior to it: witneſs the quality of the molaſſes ſpirit in England, which is little, if at all, ſuperior to the raw unrectified ſpirit of the malt diſtillers. As far as the internal conſumption of America is concerned, there is therefore no competition between their own diſtilleries, and thoſe eſtabliſhing in the French iſlands.

The apprehenſion, that if American ſhips were ſuffered to take ſugar from our Iſlands, they would convey it not to America, but to foreign countries, and rob us of the carriage of it, is fully anſwered by Lord Sheffield himſelf. Sugar is, and ever has been cheaper in the French Iſlands, where the Americans are at liberty to receive it; and it is paſt all doubt that Britiſh Plantation ſugar may be conveyed cheaper through the medium of Great Britain to its conſumption in any of the northern parts of Europe, where alone the demand for it can ariſe, than by any other channel whatever. The fear is therefore chimerical; but a limitation of tonnage to the ſhips employed in the American intercourſe, confining it to be by veſſels having only

only one deck, and not exceeding eighty or one hundred tons burthen, muſt ſurely ſatisfy the moſt timorous on this head; for ſuch veſſels can never be to any extent employed in tranſporting ſugar acroſs the Atlantic, nor could they be got inſured. The planters and merchants think the caution wholly unneceſſary; however, they do not mean to object to the limitation, becauſe all the eſſential purpoſes of both countries may be effected under it.

In anſwer to the queſtion, How were the Sugar Colonies ſupplied with lumber and proviſions during the war? the parties concerned with great truth ſay, Very ill, and at an expence which, notwithſtanding the high price of ſugar in England, has been ruinous. At different times different parts of the Continent of America, where our arms have prevailed, were open to us: Georgia was moſtly ſo; Eaſt Florida always; Weſt Florida for a conſiderable time. The ſupply by prizes was great, and that derived through neutral iſlands by no means trifling. And finally, our iſlands were driven by neceſſity to that worſt of all applications, for the public good of their own labour, *viz.* the raiſing proviſions, and cutting lumber upon their own eſtates. It is evident that the Public can only be profited by the application of that labour to the cultivation and manufacture of articles of commerce; and in as far as any regulations tend to make

make it more for the intereſt of the planter to raiſe any thing elſe upon his eſtate, they, by inevitable conſequence, deſtroy ſo much of his power to produce articles of commerce; and from this conſideration, another very powerful reaſon ariſes, for bringing to his hand, at the cheapeſt rate poſſible, thoſe ſupplies of proviſion and lumber which are the very foundations of all his culture.

During the ſeven months that have elapſed between their receiving the news of the Proclamation and the date of the laſt advices, the iſlands have probably ſuffered leſs from the want of lumber and proviſions than might juſtly have been apprehended. Various cauſes have contributed to their relief. The iſlands which had been conquered by the French, had the benefit, whilſt under that dominion, of a free intercourſe with the Americans, and have been ceded to us in a ſituation in this reſpect enabling them to ſupply much of the wants of their neighbouring iſlands. Before the news of the Proclamation reached Jamaica, many American veſſels had carried large ſupplies thither. Some have ſince gone by Britiſh ſhips, free from the new burthens which the American States are but beginning to lay upon that navigation, and probably ſome ſubject to them; and there is no doubt but a great deal has been obtained by American veſſels, either directly, or through the medium of Cape Nicolas in St. Domingo, notwithſtanding the Proclamation. And

It muſt not be forgotten, that it is ſtill lawful, under the Free Port Act of 6 Geo. III. continued by an Act of 21 Geo. III. "To import into the ports of "Kingſton, Savanna La Mar, Montego Bay, and "Santa Lucea in Jamaica, from any *foreign* Co-"lony or Plantation in America," (within which deſcription the Dominions of the United States now fall) "in any foreign veſſel whatſoever, not "having more than one deck, all manner of "goods and commodities, the growth or produce "of any ſuch Colony or Plantation, manufactures "excepted." By all theſe means, a ſufficiency of lumber, to pack the crop of the preſent ſummer, will probably be procured at ſome price or other: but through whatever channel it comes, it is from the American dominions alone that it muſt be had; and the queſtion, Whether it is more for the public good to take it in the cheapeſt way with reciprocal advantages that are eſſential to our exiſtence, or in the deareſt way, foregoing all thoſe advantages, and transferring them to the French? would not ſeem to require much deliberation.

Under all theſe circumſtances, it is hoped that no reaſonable doubt can remain about the tendency of theſe fatal reſtrictions, as between us and America and rival nations. Inſtead of availing ourſelves of thoſe diſpoſitions which ſimilarity of language, religion, manners, laws, and ancient habits, and individual connections, could not fail

ſoon to revive between the two countries under a wiſe and accommodating conduct, and thereby rendering the loſs of America as little hurtful to ourſelves, and as little advantageous to rival nations as poſſible, we are, by a narrow and petulant jealouſy, driving her into the arms of thoſe very rivals, to their aggrandizement and our ruin; and may find it no eaſy matter to reſume channels of trade once loſt.

The imaginary objections advanced on the part of Ruſſia and Ireland, appear wholly foreign to the ſubject.—*Any* arrangement of the intercourſe between the Sugar Colonies and America, muſt narrow, and not extend, thoſe rights of intercourſe under which Ruſſia made her alliance with us; conſequently, they can be no infringement of that alliance, and in truth are not in the ſmalleſt degree the objects of it. But put the caſe at the worſt, and let it be even ſuppoſed that her Imperial Majeſty ſhould inſiſt, that ſhe too ſhall have the right of ſending the produce of Ruſſia from thence in Ruſſian ſhips with one deck, and not exceeding eighty or one hundred tons burthen, to our Sugar Colonies, and bring back ſugar; what could the evil extend to? Can any man believe that ſuch a pretenſion would ever ſeriouſly be ſet up?—As to Ireland, although there be no doubt of the good endeavours of thoſe who have ſhewn themſelves ever ready to embroil us with our ſiſter kingdom,

they

they will not find it eaſy to confound two points ſo diſtinct from each other, as the *quantum* of duty payable *to the revenue of their own country* upon the importation of any commodity, and the right to go and fetch that commodity. Britain imparted that right to go and fetch it to Ireland, as a matter of favour; and Ireland is too juſt to conceive that Britain thereby precluded herſelf from regulating the trade of her own Colonies in other reſpects, according to future events. While Ireland enjoys the commerce of the Britiſh Sugar Colonies upon the ſame footing that England does, ſhe can have no cauſe to complain; but hard indeed would be the lot of the Sugar Colonies, if, whilſt both Britain and Ireland enjoy the freeſt intercourſe with the Americans in American ſhips, they, to whom *alone*, from local circumſtances, that mode of intercourſe is *eſſential*, ſhould ſtand precluded from it. The Iriſh think too generouſly, to wiſh to eſtabliſh any ſuch principle.

One other view remains to be taken of the reſtriction contended for, and it is an important one. If it were poſſible to confine the intercourſe between the Sugar Colonies and America to Britiſh-built ſhips, is it quite ſo clear, as men imagine, that we have ſhips to carry it on, or can keep up ſuch a ſtock of Britiſh ſhipping in the merchants ſervice, as would be wanted? There is no doubt, but immediately upon the diſcharge of

the tranſport ſervice, a great many ſhips built during the war expreſsly for that ſervice, were thrown out of employment; but it is to be conſidered, that the American-built ſhips heretofore deemed Britiſh, are now beginning to wear out very faſt, and that no more American ſhips can be received as Britiſh, unleſs ſome accommodating plan of *adoption in Nova Scotia* ſhall be fallen upon. Independent of the intercourſe in queſtion, which, as has been before obſerved, was carried on almoſt wholly in American bottoms, the proportion of the general trade of this country ſo carried on was very great. Britiſh and American privileges being before the war the ſame, it is not eaſy to come at exact information, what proportion the one claſs of ſhipping bore to the other; and probably no official documents are extant that would ſhew it; but an inſtitution of the Underwriters of London affords a very good general ground of judgment. To guard againſt impoſition in inſurances, a ſociety of merchants and underwriters have eſtabliſhed ſurveyors at all the principal ports of the kingdom, who make weekly returns of every ſhip employed in foreign trade that enters the port; but take no cognizance of the coaſting trade, upon which fewer inſurances are made. Thoſe returns ſtate her name, tonnage and age, where built, who are the owners, her draft of water, her uſual trade, and their opinion of her quality, both as to the hull and the rigging and outfit; and all theſe returns are

poſted

poſted weekly into books for the uſe of the ſubſcribers. In the year 1775, the ſurveying ports were *London*, *Briſtol*, *Liverpool*, *Lancaſter*, *Whitehaven*, *Workington*, *Maryport*, *Leith*, *Tinmouth*, *Hull*, *Whitby*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, *Portſmouth*, *Cowes*, *Pool*, *Topſham*, *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Biddeford*, *Barnſtaple*, *Appledore*, *Dublin*, *Corke*, *Belfaſt*, *Newry*, and *Waterford*; and the book of that year contains the laſt ſurvey of every ſhip employed in foreign trade that had entered any of thoſe ports in 1772, 1773, 1774, and till the Autumn of 1775, ſhewing the date of the laſt ſurvey; but inſerting no ſhip twice, although all the conſtant traders had in that period been many times ſurveyed. The number amounts to 6219 ſail, which ſtand reported,

	Tons.
3908 Britiſh-built, amounting to	605,645
2311 American-built — —	373,618

The tonnage of both is much below the truth, being the tonnage the ſhips were regiſtered at; but as there is no ground to ſuppoſe the one more ſo than the other, the proportion holds; and it follows, that as far as this ſurvey extended, the American ſhipping employed in the foreign trade directly to and from Britain, amounted to a good deal more than half as much as the Britiſh. Now, the direct trade between America and Britain may ſtill be carried on by American ſhips in as great a degree as before, but from every other branch they will be precluded; and except in that branch

there appears no reaſon to fear a falling-off of the Britiſh trade: it will follow, that without meddling with the intercourſe between America and the Weſt Indies, we muſt add nearly one half to our ſtock of ſhips in the merchants ſervice, as the American ſhips and thoſe diſcharged from the tranſport ſervice gradually wear out; and whether that can be done without too much exhauſting the timber of the kingdom before it comes to the growth fit for large ſhips, will require the moſt ſerious conſideration. To build ſhips in England with imported timber will never anſwer; and it muſt not be forgot that every increaſe of the price of a ſhip operates as a tax upon the manufactures and commerce which ſhe is to tranſport; and that our price of ſhip-building is already perhaps the higheſt in the world where materials are to be had. It is not meant to draw this head to any preciſe concluſion, but to ſuggeſt the general conſideration of it as very important in itſelf, and applying collaterally to the preſent queſtion; in which the Weſt India Planters and Merchants confidently truſt they ſtand otherwiſe ſupported by facts incontrovertible, and oppoſed by no argument that does not ſap the foundation of the very intereſts it profeſſes to ſupport.

JAMES ALLEN, Secretary.

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